[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/

Chapter 4

Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
174 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the
224 Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs;
[825 only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
773] legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

439 [837] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

434 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guêcâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean. ●[825]

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

[305] This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Azioue1 ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioue1 ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1).

262 565 825 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349. Neither mosques nor muezzins are found in Tuareg country. See also l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale /History of North Africa/, by E. Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

[171]

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east. They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilometers from there, and we were shown it in passing. The breech has also been named "Elias' Breech.".

773 823

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah, son of Salih?

[551] [174]

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the throne?

174 773

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the 101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

175 233 It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). 171 233 To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] [342] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their [825] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both [538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952a, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952a, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

136 /33/ Near the water points, numerous insect-eating birds seek nourishment. Let us mention in particular a gray swallow which lives the year round in the Ahaggar, and a charming black and white bird, the moula-moula, which is considered [825] a messenger by the Tuareg and which accompanies travelers, rapidly becoming very tame.

At Tamanrasset, Bengalis (mange-mil /literally: "eat-millet"/), imported from Agadez, breed rapidly and populate the gardens, which they ornament with their red plumage.

Crows are seen almost everywhere. Vultures soar very high, so high, say the Tuareg, that the sun burns their head feathers, and when an animal dies in the desert, the rapacious birds arrive mysteriously from "nowhere."

Falcons and buzzards circle over the pasturelands in search of food.

Reptiles abound in the Ahaggar. Snakes and vipers live in and around the wadis, burrowing among the clumps of thorny vegetation and tree roots. The Tuareg fear everything that crawls. Several types of vipers (tachilt) live in the Ahaggar; some are gray, others tawny (horned) or spotted. One may encounter, but rather rarely, a sort of cobra called hench-lefel. Some snakes grow to be more than a meter long.

Lizards of all sizes live in the most desolate places. One kind, small, sand-colored, flees terrified at the approach of man in the wadis and on the regs.

The dob prefers rocky places. With its large, spiked tail, this animal has an antediluvian aspect. It plays a very important part in Tuareg stories. Children play with it as with [262] a toy. Its flesh, considered edible, is far from tasty.

The uran, a large gray lizard, possesses a redoubtable [825] weapon in its long, flexible tail. The Tuareg call it their maternal uncle and ascribe to it dauntless courage. It is said that the uran attacks nobles but /34/ refuses to fight Negroes; [262] the latter eat the flesh of the uran, having no kinship tie with it.

136 /34 cont./ A green lizard with a red head is often glimpsed on the rocks: this is the materter. It seems to be saying a continual prayer, nodding its head up and down. The Tuareg [825] claim that its bite is fatal but are contradicted by zoologists on this point.

Large numbers of toads live in the irrigation ditches; tadpoles are found in nearly all water points.

The large gueltas /pools/ such as Issakarassène, Afilal, Amguid, Arak, etc., contain fish: barbus sahari. These barbels run the risk of disappearing during violent floods.

Some water points, at Tamanrasset in particular, are stocked with gambusia, useful for eating mosquito larvae. Some say that the In-Outer guelta, situated upstream in the Tit wadi, once was inhabited by a crocodile. This claim is not to be rejected a priori if one considers the discoveries made in the Ajjers /Adjjer/ of "residual" animals.

Insects are clearly the most important of the Ahaggar's fauna. They are found everywhere, even in places which seem totally devoid of life.

Beetles are the region's largest insects; they leave orderly little dotted tracks on the sand. A green beetle, the zembabar, looks truly ornamental.

The ankokar, a large poisonous wasp which frequents the vicinity of water points, inflicts dangerous stings; the Tuareg fear it and say that several stings may cause death.

Ordinary flies are the best adapted animals in the Ahaggar, as in all the Sahara. They swarm at agricultural centers, where they are carriers of eye diseases. When one halts on a barren reg, it is a surprise to find oneself surrounded by a cloud of flies, come from heaven known where.

Butterflies fly around the gardens and pastures; moths describe thousands of ellipses around the lamps.

/35/ Ants of all sizes, ticks, mantes, dragon flies, mosquitoes, termites, and many other small insects fly and

492 /96 cont./ The man, when he is elegantly turned out -- and all the Tuareg want to be elegant when on camel back -- has a "djebira" (a large sack made in the Sudan) with splendid decorations in leather, dominated by whites and delicate greens. To save wear and tear on the decorations, the djebira is always carried inside out, but is turned right again upon approaching a camp.

The linen is put in a large dyed-leather bag decorated with lines: the "echchekoua," which is padlocked. The "tchekouat" ("dabia" in Arabic) is smaller, the "tesoufra" holds milk and is not decorated, for the dyes are not fast to moisture. Tea and sugar are kept in small sacks called "etfadoul."

The "tarik" ("rahla" in Arabic) adorns the corner of the tent reserved for the man. The camel saddle is well known; there are several types: the "tamzak," made in the Sudan and the most prized by the Tuareg, is ornamented with designs in green leather and has a characteristic cantle, the back of which is fixed with a whole system of metalwork. The "akoka" is also a good tarik, respectable enough to ride on; its black /97/ and red colors make it more subdued; it is also supposed to be sturdier. The "ta'last" has no cross in front; it is made of decorated wood and is very solid; it is suitable for training the animals, but an elegant man does not use it for traveling. In order to protect the camel, the tarik is placed on two or three small square rugs, the "sadfar," measuring about 50 centimeters; they have bands of blue and white cloth forming geometric motifs; they are lightly padded with old cloth.

To adorn the camel, the Tuareg place a rug called "taouart" on the seat of the saddle; the rug comes from either Fezzan or Ghardaïa. The saddle girth (ha'lf) is as heavy as possible. The "rezama" (Arabic) ("tarant" in Tamashek), which is used to guide the animal, is made of plaited leather ornamented with colored thongs; it is said that a tarant made from hyena hide makes the animal go faster.

[825]

857/121 cont./ cheetah, which was working forward at a crawl,
868 the gazelle sensed its presence and leaped away. Here is where the cheetah pounced, see how deep the prints are; he leaped five times but could not catch the gazelle, which was a large male." The young Targui raises his head and shows his joy in learning that the gazelle was saved, for after his lightninglike leaps the cheetah could not outrun the gazelle. "But you," says the slave, "when you have a rifle, you will approach the gazelle as the cheetah did, against the wind, and you will not miss him.

"These pretty patterns on the dune are the work of the khanfous. /122/ This morning he went back in his hole under that rock. Be careful in lifting the stone, for the khanfous often is the slave of the scorpion; it is even said that he is the scorpion's father. Be careful when you see that track there, it was made by the viper; let's follow it.... Here's where it ends in that cluster of chabrok. Get a rock," the old servant says, "I'm going to set the brush on fire." The chabrok crackles as it blazes, and soon the hiss of the reptile is heard as it leaves its hole, numbed. The child strikes; this is his first hunt.

In this way the desert reveals its secrets each day. That green line ending in a red point there on the rock is "matarter," the poisonous lizard. He nods his head up and down, as if he were saying a prayer to the sun. He must not be touched, for his bite is like lightning. The large dob, covered with scales, whose enormous tail is armed with spikes, will be a toy for the child who catches it, provided he is not bitten, for the dob never lets go, and the finger would have to be amputated. If by luck the young Targui has captured a female, he can eat her eggs, a treat for the children. "The stomach of the dob was full of water," he remarks to his slave. "That
[825] is because it's Friday, and the dob only drinks on Friday," says the latter. "Even if there is no water about, even if it doesn't rain, each Friday God sends the dob his ration. When

857 /122 cont./ you want to keep a dob to play with the next day,
868 tie him with a cord, but never put him in a sack that has held dates or sugar, for he would die."

857 Living in constant contact with nature, the young Targui
868 comes to know its secrets; each of his observations teaches
825 him; he is curious about everything that lives and moves about him. His slave, who follows him, protects him, and loves him as a father, explains everything he sees with the words and images of a simple soul, embellishing the old themes of the country. "The black and white bird following us, flying from rock to bush, is 'moula-moula.' You must not kill him, because he brings good luck to those he escorts; besides, he is a messenger -- each time he comes close to you and cheeps, he wants /123/ to tell you a friend is coming, or warn you about losing something, or alert you against a viper crawling toward you. 'Moula-moula' knows all, and he tells it to men, but you must understand his language; there are many in the Ahaggar who understand his messages. You must learn to speak 'moula-moula.'

"The other day you were afraid when you heard the huff of that big lizard you wanted to catch to play with as with a dob; it was a uran. It has a thin tail, but it is more dangerous than the big tail of the dob. When a uran lashes a man, the mark stays in his flesh forever, and it is not good for a Targui to capture a uran, for it is said that a uran was the uncle of the first mother of the Tuareg. That is why it gets mad when one of its own people makes fun of it. On the other hand, it is afraid of the Negroes and runs from us, because it knows that we eat it. Don't try to catch a uran; I once knew a Targui who wanted to go against the custom. It was a summer day in the middle of the Tanezrouft; he caught a uran, put a cord around its neck, and tied it to his camel. He got down and let go the bridle of his mount -- for what reason, I do not know -- and at that moment the uran lashed the camel with its tail, making it trot off at great speed. Still whipping, the

857 /123 cont./ uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

539 /124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore, tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /128 cont./

The Negress and the Three "Tahenchit" (1)

1. The Tuareg tahenchit designates the cynhyena -- Tycaon pictus. This is a ferocious animal which hunts in packs and will attack men and sometimes lions.

One day a Negress left her village to gather wood. She had finished gathering her fagots when she saw three ferocious and hungry tahenchit running in her direction. Dropping her wood and calling on God, the Negress scrambled up the nearest tree. Scratched by the thorns of this saving tamat, she regarded the three wild beasts which, with foaming muzzles, besieged the tree. The day passed, and night fell. The beasts seemed to be asleep, and the Negress was very sleepy herself, but each time she dozed off she nearly fell. What had to happen, happened; she went to sleep, then fell. In falling, she screamed, and then screamed louder still upon landing on the ground in the middle of the tahenchit.

"Take your shares, " she cried, hiding her head in her arms.

But the tahenchit, frightened by her cries and the noise of the fall, fled toward the desert. The Negress did the same toward the village.

• 835 The tahenchit is feared by the Tuareg who go to the Sudan; the animal does not inhabit the Ahaggar at present. The Augiéras-Draper mission of 1927-1928 found one on the border of the Tanezrouft near Timissao. The ferocity of these animals is hard to believe. The Tuareg tell of one of

825 /128 cont./ their men who was surprised by a pack of cynhyenas and who took refuge in a tree, where he feared a long siege. Knowing the voracity of the tahenchit, he cut his finger and let the blood fall on one of the beasts. In a very short time, the pack fell on the one /129/ that received the drops of blood and tried to tear him to pieces. The attacked beast fled, pursued by all the pack. The Targui got out of this difficult situation thanks to his knowledge of the habits of the desert beasts.

539 Here is another story, which proves that it is well to be armed in all circumstances.

The Two Brothers and the Lion

It is said that there were once two brothers, still living in their parents' tent, who were united by a rare affection for each other. Nearly old enough to marry, they often went to pay court to the girls of neighboring camps. They showed themselves to be true Tuareg from the tendi to the ahal /gatherings where young people of both sexes meet/.

One evening one of them went out alone, dressed in his best finery and armed with his spear. As the camp he was to visit was quite nearby, he left on foot.

After having walked for a good hour, he realized that the camp he was looking for had moved. At the camp site, a lion wandered about in search of food.

Upon seeing the man, the beast became frightened, then roared and leaped. The Targui, quick on the defense, hurled his spear and pierced the lion's front and back left paws. Despite being hobbled by the spear, the lion struck the man with his good paw, killed him, and tore him to shreds.

The next morning the other Targui began to worry when he saw that his brother had not returned. He carefully armed himself, taking his spear, his shield, and his takouba /sword/, and set out to follow the tracks.

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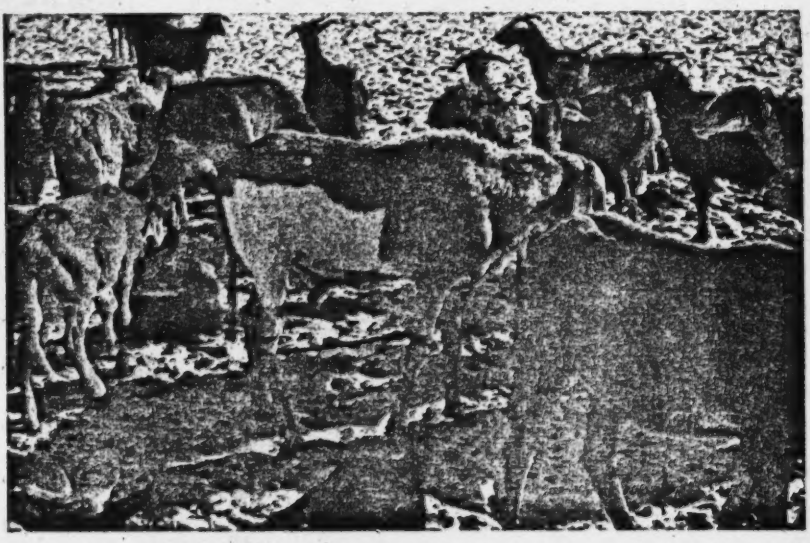

Fig. 25. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*ayaw*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amakus*) also serves to prevent copulation. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terurit* tribe.

435 the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also con-
782 sidered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered
237 very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).

825 The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.
234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.

*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poision their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*itheréggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehof* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettima* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ərəta*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ərəta* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi, tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelheʃ a ərəta*) made from the skin of the big *ərəta* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelheʃ a timerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḥarratin* at Tarhawhawt, manufactured in the *Aſuk-en-tehlt* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Ḳoran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120 b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. Today true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddukeraren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals within two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . .	*awhim*	*tawhimt*
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	*ahyar*	*tahyart*
Fully grown animal	*ahenkoḍ*	*tahenkoḍ*

Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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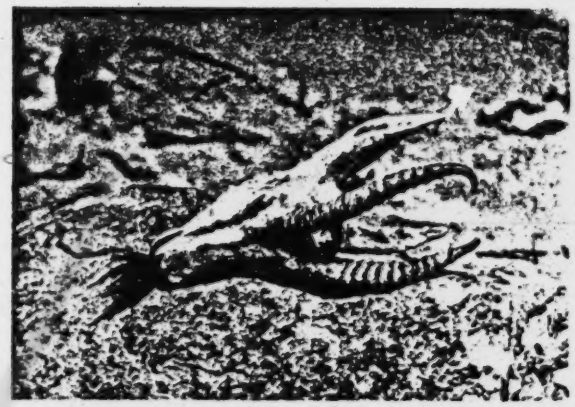

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tugarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoj*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224
777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

● 825 (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *alullam*; to see three gazelles.

224
787 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequeptly enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

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the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers. There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *élélli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggur*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

(8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a mule, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

(12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

(14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils, so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

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Fig. 164. Pail (*ɣrir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ɛzegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits (Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téɣirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*ɣrir*) of European origin. Such European pots are common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *ɣrir*, were also found among

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word *chuyûf*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld under the name *ebangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *twesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *ebenid* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzevam* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living

Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *tahawak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]